

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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In connection with the protest lodged by Ambassador Bullitt against the violation by the Soviet Government of its pledge of November 16, 1933, with regard to non-interference in the internal affairs of the United States and the reply of the Soviet Government thereto, the Secretary of State today made the following statement:

The recent note of this Government to the Government of the Soviet Union and the reply of that Government raises the issue whether that Government, in disregard of an express agreement entered into at the time of recognition in 1933, will permit organizations or groups operating on its territory to plan and direct movements contemplating the overthrow of the political or social order of the United States. For sixteen years this Government withheld recognition - as did many other Governments - mainly for the reasons that the Soviet Government had failed to respect the right of this nation to maintain its own political and social order without interference by organizations conducting in or from Soviet territory activities directed against our institutions.

In 1933 this Government, observing the serious effects upon peace and prosperity of the many partial or dislocated international relationships throughout the world, took up anew the question whether the United States and the Soviet Union, two of the largest nations, could not find a way to establish more natural and normal relations, which would afford a basis for genuine friendship and collaboration to promote peace and improve material conditions both at home and abroad. After various stipulations in writing had first been carefully drafted and agreed upon by representatives of the two Governments, recognition was accorded to the Government of the Soviet Union by this Government, in November, 1933. One of the most important provisions of the agreement thus reached was the the pledge of the Soviet Government to respect the right of the United States "So order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way and to refrain from interfering in any manner in the internal affairs of the United States, its territories or possessions." The essence of this pledge was the obligation assumed by the Soviet Government not to permit persons or groups on its territory to engage in efforts or movements directed towards the overthrow of our institutions. The representative of the Soviet Government declared in writing that

"coincident with the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two Governments it will be the fixed policy of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: \* \* \*

4. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group - and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group - which has as an aim the overthrow or the preparation for the overthrow of, or the bringing about by force of a change in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions."

The language of the above-quoted paragraph irrefutably covers activities of the Communist International, which was then, and still is, the outstanding world communist organization, with headquarters at Moscow.

In its reply of August 27, 1935, to this Government's note of August 25, 1935, the Soviet Government almost in so many words repudiates the pledge which it gave at the time of recognition that "it will be the fixed policy of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics \* \* \* not to permit \* \* \* and to prevent" the very activities against which this Government has complained and protested. Not for a moment denying or questioning the fact of Communist International activities on Soviet territory involving interference in the internal affairs of the United States, the Soviet Government denies having made any promise "not to permit \* \* \* and to prevent" such activities of that organization on Soviet territory, asserting that it "has not taken upon itself obligations of any kind with regard to the Communist International." That the language of the pledge, as set

out above, is absolutely clear and in no way ambiguous and that there has been a clean-cut disregard and disavowal of the pledge by the Soviet Government is obvious.

The American Government, having previously made oral complaints of failure by the Soviet Government to carry out its pledge and being deeply concerned over the growing instability of international relations and the dangerous consequences thereof to peace and economic recovery, sought most earnestly in its note of August 25 to impress upon the Soviet Government the sanctity of its pledge to the end that there might be between the two nations continued development of friendly and official relations and valuable collaboration in many beneficial ways. When in its reply the Soviet Government indicated an intention entirely to disregard its promise "to prevent" such activities as those complained of it struck a severe blow at the fabric of friendly relations between the two countries.

To summarize, in view of the plain language of the pledge, it is not possible for the Soviet Government to disclaim its obligation to prevent activities on its territory directed toward overthrowing the political or social order in the United States. And that Government does not and cannot disclaim responsibility on the ground of inability to carry out the pledge, for its authority



within its territorial limits is supreme and its power to control the acts and utterances of organizations and individuals within those limits is absolute.

It remains to be seen to what extent the intention indicated by the Soviet Government's reply, which is directly contrary to "the fixed policy" declared in its pledge, will be carried into effect. If the Soviet Government pursues a policy of permitting activities on its territory involving interference in the internal affairs of the United States, instead of "preventing" such activities, as its written pledge provides, the friendly and official relations between the two countries cannot but be seriously impaired. Whether such relations between these two great countries are thus unfortunately to be impaired and cooperative opportunities for vast good to be destroyed, will depend upon the attitude and action of the Soviet Government.

## 國務省新聞用

一九三五年八月三十一日

一九三五年九月一日（日曜）附朝刊紙上發表用の極秘内報、如何なる方法たるを問はず事前に公表、引用又は使用すべからず。

合衆国の国内事項に干渉せざる可き旨を約した一九三三年十一月十六日附誓約に違反したといふのでブリット大使からソビエト政府に提出した抗議並に之に對するソビエト政府の回答に關して國務長官は本日次の通り發表した。

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ソビエツト聯邦政府に對する我政府の最近の通牒及同政府の之に對する回答は、一九三三年の同政府承認當時締結せられた協定の明文を無視して、同政府が、合衆国の政治的若しくは社會的秩序を顛覆せん事を企つる運動を計畫し指導する組織又は國体が其領土内に於て活動する事を許すか否かといふ問題を惹起するものである。十六年の間我政府は——他の多くの政府が躊躇した様に——ソビエツト政府を承認する事を遠慮したが、其主要理由は、ソビエツト領内に於て、又はソビエツト領内からの指圖を受けて、我國の制度に對する反對運動を行ふ國体に——邪魔せられないで自分達の政

治的、社會的秩序を維持して行かうといふ我國民の權利をソビエツト政府が今迄尊敬して來なかつたといふ點にあつた。

一九三三年我政府は、多くの偏よつた、調子の狂つた國際關係が全世界を通じて平和と繁榮に重大な影響を及ぼして居ることを看収して、大強國の二たる合衆國とソビエツト聯邦とが、平和を増進し國內に於ても國外に於ても物質的状態を改善するように、眞の友情と協力との基礎をもちたらしめるべく、もつと自然的な、もつと正常的な關係を確立する方法を見出す事は出來ないものかどうかといふ問題を新に取上げた。文書による種々の約束が先づ注意深く起草せられ兩國政府代表の同意を見た後、一九三三年十一月ソビエツト政府に對する我政府の承認が與へられた。かようにして成立した同協定の最も重要な規程の一は「合衆國流に改正せんとする」合衆國の權利を尊重し、且つ合衆國、其領土又は其所所有物の内部的事項には、如何なる方法を以てしても干渉することを差控ゆる」といふソビエツト政府の誓約であつた。此誓約の眞隨はソビエツト政府が其領土内に於て、個人又は國体が我國の制度の顛覆を企つる勢力又は運動に従事する事を許さな

いといふ義務を引受けたことがある。ソビエツト政府の代表は文書を以て次の聲明をなした、即ち

兩國間の外交關係の確立と同時に左の事項は社會主義ソビエツト聯邦の不動の方針となるであらう。(中略)

聯合衆國、其領土又は所有物の全部又は一部に於ける政治的、社會的秩序の顛覆又は其準備、若くは暴力による其變革の實現を目的とする如何なる組織又は國體をもソビエツト領内に於て組織せられ又は住所を定むるを許さず、且つかかる組織又は國體若くは其代表者又は役員は活動の阻止する事

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此處に引用した一節の文句がモスコウに本部を有し當時に於ても、今日に於ても依然として卓越した世界的共產主義組織たるコムニニスト。インターナショナルの活動を含んで居ることは論議の余地の無い處である。

我政府の一九三五年八月二十五日町憲に對する一九三五年八月二十七日附回答に於て、ソビエツト政府は、非常に多くの言辭を費して、承



認當時の誓約即ち「左の事項は社會主義ソビエツト聯邦の不動の方針となるであらう（中略）、許さず、（中略）且つ、」我政府が異議を唱へ抗議を提出したのと丁度同じのその活動を「阻止する」といふ誓約を殆んど否認するのである。合衆國の國內的事項に對する活動をも含めてソビエツト領内に於てコムニニスト・インターナショナルが活動して居る事實を少しも否認しようとはせず又は問題としないで、ソビエツト政府は該組織のソビエツト領内に於ける此のような活動を「許さず、且つ阻止する」いかなる約束をもなした事は無いと否認し「コムニニスト・インターナショナルに關する如何なる義務をも約束したことは無い」と主張して居る。前に挙げた誓約の文句が絶對的に明瞭で如何なる點に於ても曖昧な處が無い事及び同誓約がソビエツト政府によつてはつきりと無視せられ否認せられたことは明らかである。

米國政府はソビエツト政府が其誓約を實行しないことに就いて先に口頭で苦情を申入れて居り、且つ國際關係の不安定さが次第に増すこと並に此不安定さが平和と經濟的恢復とに反ばす危險な結果に就いて深い關

心を抱いて居るので、八月二十五日附の通牒に於ては、友好的にして且つ公約な關係と貴重な協力とが多く、の有益な方法で、今後も引續き兩國民間に展開して行く爲にソビエツト政府に對し其誓約の神聖さを感じさせようと最も熱心に希求した。ソビエツト政府が、其回答に於て、我國が苦情を申入れた様な活動を「阻止し」ようといふ約束を全く無視する意向を示した時に、それは兩國間の友好關係に深刻な打撃を與へた。

之を要するに、同誓約の平易な文句を考慮すれば、合衆國に於ける政治的又は社會的秩序を顛覆しようとしてソビエツト國內に於て行はるる活動を阻止せねばならぬ義務を否認する事はソビエツト政府によつて出来ることではない。又同政府は同誓約を實行する事が不可能であるといふ理由で其責任を否定しては居ないし又否定も出来ない。何となれば其領域内に於ける政府の權威は最高のものであり、又國內に於て組織又ハ個人の言動を統制する政府の權力は絶對的のものであるからである。

誓約中に聲明せられた「不動の方針」には眞向から反對な、ソビエツト政府の回答によつて示された意向がどの程まで實行せらるるであらうか

は今後の見ものである。若しソビエツト政府が誓約文書に定めて居る様にかかる活動を阻止しないで、合衆國の國內的事項に對する干渉をも含むような活動をその國內に於て許す政策を今後も續けて採るとすれば兩國間の友好的にして公的な關係は重大な毀損を受けざるを得ない。此二大國間のかかる關係がかようにして不幸にも傷けられ且つ廣汎な善事に對する協力の機會が損はれるかどうかといふ事はソビエツト政府の態度と行動との如何にかかつて居ることである。